[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./
174
175
634 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

175 Here now are two documents from annals.

[619] The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal. The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits. After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection; are in small type in the original
● 539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.

619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619
175
726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175
539 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night
726 from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left
619 on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Im8'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkasit, a. Gasa, a. Gfir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175 Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of
[361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghia are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgarẹn, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ǎjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ǎjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istir^{c}ǎ', "ritual protestation" against
[539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gǎr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[731] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâid, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, [539] get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one [233] gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended [796] with the šchura or amšchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqaleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. [539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 241 [539] [233] F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign. The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr, "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggravation. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch [233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the [539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what [539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
241 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 241 82 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy." A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that, [539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 241 171 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfolding of the campaign with the succession of the different activities. It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu, 221 241 182 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^{c} is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday [443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/238 cont./

same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

/239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 716 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
823 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the com-
782 munal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

42 691 518 539 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes, would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a. Waẑziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows] ... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waẑziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 691 577 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer- 518 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures 691 this base from the various gestures (1) 42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, ẑwqẑwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAlî, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/316 cont./

787
539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

787 /317 cont./

[539] -- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [191] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hîba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ^{c}a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât' of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

•[539]

595 /218 cont./
eat your harvests (1)!"
•[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/260 cont./

343 712 * 634 726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[175] * [631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

• [539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/280 cont./

175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

175 Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
159 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
*634 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
616 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
726 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

• [539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff? their prestige has survived all their defeats.